THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ART OF INDIA AND JAVA

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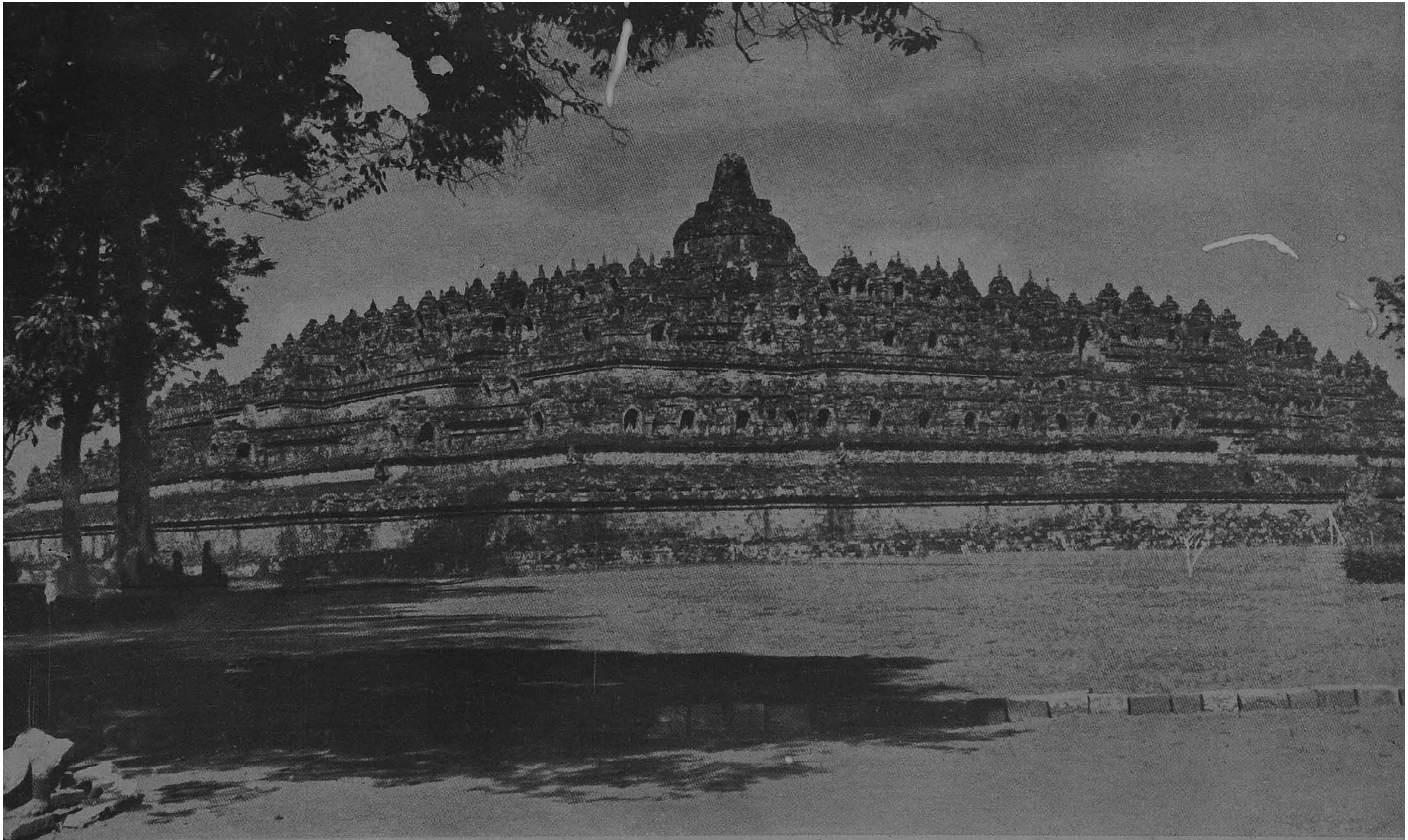

Borobudur

(World Famous Hindu Javanese monument in Central Java)

Indonesian freedom struggle and what it meant to the nation

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ART OF INDIA & JAVA

BY

DR. J. PH. VOGEL

(A CHAPTER FROM "THE INFLUENCES OF INDIAN ART")

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THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ART OF INDIA AND JAVA

THERE are few subjects which are of more absorbing interest to the student of ancient Indian history than the gradual spread of Indo-Aryan civilisation over what we may call the three Indies: India proper, Farther India, and the Indian Archipelago.

From their Vedic home in the Land of the Five Rivers we see the Indo-Aryans in constant struggle with the dark-coloured aborigines penetrate into the plains of the Gangā and Yamunā, which were to become the real centre of Brahmanism and the cradle of Buddhism.

Gradually the whole of Northern India—stretching from the Himālaya to the Vindhya and from the Western to the Eastern Ocean—became Āryāvarta, the Land of the Aryans.

Then Aryan civilisation crosses the mountain barrier of the Vindhya and plunges into the mysterious Dakshiṇāpatha, which the Rāmāyaṇa describes as a wild country inhabited by monsters and monkeys, but not without scattered settlements of Brahmanical hermits. Here among a Dravidian population of alien race and tongue the Indo-Aryans firmly establish their religious and social institutions. About the time of Aśoka (*circa* 250 B.C.), the great Buddhist Emperor of Northern

India, the process appears to have been completed and the whole of India proper, including Ceylon, has become the domain of Indo-Aryan civilisation.

But not content with holding sway over the whole of the Indian Continent from the Himavant to Cape Comorin, the Aryo-Indians now carry their culture across the sea to the shores of Farther India and the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Here again we see the curious spectacle of entirely different races adopting and thoroughly assimilating Indo-Aryan civilisation, as it finds expression in its two great religions—Brahmanism and Buddhism, its two great epics—Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, its Sacred Law, and all that wealth of legendary lore which in the Indian homeland had been accumulating for many centuries.

In Farther India we find in particular two nations which prove marvellously adapted to receive the cultural influences from the West—the Khmer of Cambodia, the country on the banks of the Mekong, and the Cham of Champa. From the blending of their own national genius with the fructifying culture of India there springs that remarkable form of colonial Hinduism productive of wonderful works of art.

The Hinduised kingdom of Champa, according to Chinese sources, had been founded in the year A.D. 137. The oldest epigraphical document in Sanskrit, the rock inscription of Võ-chanh, is ascribed to the third (or perhaps the second) century of the Christian era. By the end of the thirteenth century the Cham state is still referred to by Marco Polo as "la grant contrée de

Cyamba." Two centuries later it was finally overpowered by the Annamites, who were originally settled in Tonkin, and who in the Sanskrit records of Champa are, curiously enough, indicated by the name of *Yavana*, a term which in India proper was, in the first instance, applied to the Greeks!

Among the islands of the Malay Archipelago it is in particular Java which in a large degree has been influenced by Indo-Aryan civilisation. Although the inhabitants adopted Islām in the course of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, Hinduism has left traces which four centuries of Muslim ascendancy have not been able to destroy.

First of all, there are a number of geographical names which retain the remembrance of that most brilliant period of Javanese history. The loftiest mountain top of the island is known by the name of Smeru or Sĕmeru, in which we easily recognise the Sumeru of Indian mythology. Other volcanoes bear the familiar names of Arjuna, Brama (*i.e.*, Brahma), and Kawi. The principal river of Central Java and of the whole south coast is the Sĕrayu, which takes its rise from the southern slopes of Mount Prahu. Evidently the name *Sĕrayu* is the Javanese form of Sanskrit *Sarayu*, the ancient name of the Gogra, the well known tributary of the Ganges. Ayodhyā, the glorious capital of Rāma, was situated on the bank of the Sarayu, and this alone will suffice to account for the name having been applied to a river in far-off Java.

Numerous other instances could be quoted; let me

mention only one more. One of the eastern-most districts of Java is called Bĕsuki. It is evident that the district was so named after the capital of the same name situated on the northern coast. But it is not a little curious that Bĕsuki is the Javanese form of *Vāsuki*, well known to Sanskritists as the name of the great Nāgarāja, the King of Snakes. Very often we find Vāsuki mentioned in Sanskrit literature from the Mahābhārata onwards. "Among snakes I am Vāsuki," says Kṛishṇa in the "Bhagavadgītā" (X., 28). I may add that up to the present day the Serpent King, Vāsuki, is extensively worshipped in the Western Himalayas under the names of Bāski Nāg and Bāsak Nāg. At one time his cult must have spread to the east of Java, for there can be little doubt that the town of Bĕsuki must have received its name from the great Serpent deity.

Up to the present time the ruling chiefs, nobles, and high functionaries of Java bear titles and proper names which have retained their ancient Sanskrit forms almost unchanged. Among royal titles I mention: *raja*, *prabu* (Skt. *prabhu*), *bupati* (Skt. *bhūpati*), *adipati* (Skt. *adhipati*), and *aria* (Skt. *ārya*). Among designations of officials: *mantri*, *pati*, *dyaksa* (Skt. *adhyaksha*), and *wadono* (Skt. *vadana*).*

Side by side with names of Arabic origin, and we may even say in preference to them, the members of the Javanese nobility bear Sanskritic names like Surya-

* *Cf.* L. W. C. van den Berg, "De inlandsche rangen en titels op Java en Madoera" (Batavia, 1887).

putra and Suryavinata, the pronunciation having only slightly modified owing to a change of accent and a more o-like colouring of the *a* vowel. A young Javanese scholar attached to the Leiden University has the very appropriate name of Sostrovidogda—*i.e.*, Skt. *Śāstra-vidagdha*, lit. "Versed in the Scriptures."

With regard to these proper names it is interesting to note that, although they are manifestly composed of Sanskrit elements, they are different, as far as I know, from any personal names nowadays used in India proper. We may say that the existence of such names is, no doubt, primarily due to Hindu influences, but that in their present form they are the outcome of a prolonged independent development. Even if we go back to the Hindu period of Javanese history, we meet with royal and noble names of which the same may be said. Side by side with pure Indo-Aryan names such as Vishṇu-vardhana, Jayavardhana, and Vijaya, we meet with kings bearing such curious names as Krĕtanagara and Krĕ-tarājasa, not to mention purely Javanese names like Airlanga, Siṇḍok, and Hayam Vuruk. A great person-age in Javanese history of the fourteenth century is the Regent Gajamada (died A.D. 1364). Here, again, we have a name which, although composed of two well-known Sanskrit words, it would be very surprising to meet with in India proper.

The Javanese language is as full of words of Sanskrit origin as the English is of French (Roman) words. The Old-Javanese is even denoted by two Sanskrit words as *Basa Kavi*—*i.e.*, "the language of poetry." Whatever

literature there exists in that Kawi language is largely derived from or inspired by Indian originals.

The sagas of the five Pāṇḍava brothers and of the divine hero, Rāma, which were sung in Sanskrit verses by Vyāsa and Vālmīki, enjoy among the population of Java as great a popularity as in the land of their origin. The Javanese have, indeed, so completely assimilated those famous legends that their foreign origin has been forgotten. For the great mass of the population the Pāṇḍavas and Rāma are truly national heroes, born and bred in the Isle of Java. The extreme favour which those Indian stories have found and retained until now among all classes of society is not so much due to their having been sung in famous old Javanese poems as to that most popular of entertainments, the *Wayang* or shadow-show. Indians familiar with their Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa would be surprised to see Arjuna, Kṛishṇa, and Rāma appear here in the quaint garb of Wayang puppets, which in their strangely fantastical, yet unmistakably artistic, character are the true children of Indonesian art. Stranger still are the clowns who invariably accompany the hero, be it Arjuna or Rāma, and who contribute not a little to the delight of the audience by their good-humoured, though not always delicate, jokes. These clowns or *panakawans*—Sĕmar, the father, and his two sons, Petruk and Nalagareng—are undoubtedly as Indonesian in origin as they are in name.

That Hindu influence which up to the present day it is possible to trace in many an aspect of Javanese life has found its grandest expression in those numerous

monumental and sculptural remains with which the Isle of Java is studded. All those ancient sanctuaries of the Hindu period are now, alas! in a more or less ruined condition, due not to vandalism or iconoclasm, but to long centuries of indifference and neglect. At the time when Islām gradually invaded Java, its ways were peaceful and free from that fanaticism which five centuries before had robbed the vast plains of Hindustan of the entire wealth of her ancient temples. Yet after the introduction of the Muslim religion the old gods of Hinduism no longer enjoyed official worship and veneration, although the mass of the people continued to look up to their idols in superstitious dread. No hand was raised to stop the decay due to natural causes which, in a land highly volcanic and consequently prone to earthquakes and, moreover, extremely luxuriant in its tropical vegetation, were apt to conspire together for the destruction of ancient buildings. Active human agency, too, has not entirely been wanting. Here, as unfortunately in any parts of the globe which have been the seat of ancient civilisations, the carefully dressed stones and well-burnt bricks of those forsaken and overgrown sanctuaries of an abandoned religion excited the rapacity of villagers in search of cheap and durable building material. It is especially the interesting group of early stone temples on the Dyeng plateau which, owing to its isolated and unprotected position, has suffered irreparable damage.

During the two centuries when Java was ruled by the Dutch East India Company (1619-1798), the attention

of the foreign rulers was so entirely absorbed by matters of commerce and conquest that the magnificent monuments of a bygone civilisation could scarcely excite a passing curiosity. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that—owing, no doubt, to the growth of a more enlightened and sympathetic feeling towards alien races—superficial curiosity developed into scholarly interest, which in its turn initiated a period of ever-deepening research. In the year 1778 the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences was founded; its programme included the investigation not only of matters "which could promote agriculture, trade, and the special prosperity of this colony," but also of all that relates to the natural history, the antiquities, manners, and customs of the people.

Among the men who were the first to take an intelligent interest in the wonderful relics of Java's past we may mention Nicolaus Engelhard, who was Governor of the North-East Coast from 1801 to 1808; at his instigation the ruins of Prambanan and a number of other temples were cleared and surveyed. It is to be deplored that his antiquarian tastes led the Dutch Governor injudiciously to remove a great many images from the temples to which they belonged to the grounds of his country house, "De Vrijheid," at Semarang. This spoil finally reached the Leiden Museum of Ethnography.

The man who more than anyone else stimulated archæological and historical research in those days was Sir Stamford Raffles, the enlightened and able Governor-General who ruled Java during the brief period of

British supremacy (1811-16). Under his auspices the work of antiquarian research was continued on a larger scale, and he laid down the results in his remarkable work, the "History of Java" (London, 1817). As a pioneer's work the book of Raffles has a great merit, and his accounts of the ancient monuments may still be consulted with profit by students of Javanese archæology. The historical part, however, which is largely derived from unreliable sources—such as native chronicles (*babad*) and fantastical readings of inscriptions—should be used with the greatest caution. Later authors, like James Fergusson, by relying on Raffles' historical information, have often been led into strange errors.

It would be out of place here to enumerate the several scholars, mostly of Dutch nationality, who in the course of the last century have devoted their energies to the investigation of the monumental remains of ancient Java. Let me only mention Professor Hendrik Kern, who, guided by his marvellous knowledge of Sanskrit and modern Javanese, was the first to master the Kawi language, in which the writings of ancient Java are composed. A number of Javanese inscriptions in Sanskrit and Kawi were admirably edited by Kern, who, among many other scholarly contributions, published an edition and a Dutch translation of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa.

Kern's most gifted pupil in the domain of Indonesian studies was Dr. Brandes, who in a degree seldom met with combined artistic and scholarly accomplishments, a remarkable insight in architectural problems with a

rare knowledge of ancient and modern languages. Commissioned by the Batavia Government with a survey of the Javanese monuments, he brought out two monographs, the one on the Temple of Jago (1904), and the other—a posthumous work—on those of Singhasari and Panataran (1909). Both are model publications and illustrated with the greatest possible completeness.

After a vacancy of five years which followed Dr. Brandes' premature death in June, 1905, he was succeeded by Dr. N. J. Krom, who organised the Archæological Survey of Netherlands-India, and during the term of his office published a remarkable series of papers on the epigraphy, history, and art of ancient Java. After his retirement in 1915 he brought out an excellent "Handbook of Hindu-Javanese Art," two vols. (The Hague, 1920), full of accurate information and well illustrated, and his *magnum opus*, the archæological description of Java's chief monument, the Borobudur, accompanied by a portfolio of 444 large-sized plates, excellent reproductions of photographs.*

These photographs are the outcome of a complete photographic survey carried out by Captain (now Lieut.-Col.) T. van Erp, R.E., during the years 1907-11, under instructions of the Government of Netherlands-India. At the same time Captain van Erp superintended

* N. J. Krom, "Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst" (with an archæological map and 100 plates), 2 vols. (The Hague, 1920). N. J. Krom and T. van Erp, "Beschrijving van Baraboedoer." Vol. I., "Archæologische beschrijving" (The Hague, 1920). The author wishes here gratefully to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Professor Krom's works in composing the present paper.

extensive measures for the upkeep of the monument, a work of restoration executed with great ability and excellent feeling.*

Since December, 1919, Dr. Krom has occupied the newly-created chair for Javanese archæology at the University of Leiden. His successor, as head of the Archæological Survey of Java, is Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, who, aided by a small staff of experts, is now carrying on the work both of preservation and research which does great credit to the Government and to the officers concerned.

It may be safely assumed that, although before the advent of the Hindus the population of Java did not consist of mere savages but had reached a fair degree of civilisation, they practised neither building nor carving in stone except in a most rudimentary fashion. Stone idols of a very crude type have been found in Java as well as in the neighbouring islands, and it is curious that this primitive kind of Polynesian images continued to be made long after Hindu civilisation and art had been introduced. This is proved by some dated specimens which are not earlier than the fourteenth century and must be contemporaneous with the latest period of Hindu-Javanese art.

The numerous stone and brick temples which in their dilapidated condition still excite our admiration owe their existence primarily to a mighty wave of civilisation

* For particulars on this restoration, see the author's note, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1913, pp. 421 *f*.

carried across the ocean from the Indian mainland. They belong to Indian creeds and were raised to the same gods who are worshipped in India proper up to the present day. Among the numberless sculptured icons which were once enshrined in the ruined temples, we recognise the great gods of the Hindu Triad—Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, the familiar form of the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa—who is the remover of obstacles, and the demon-slaying goddess Durgā. Side by side with these Brahmanical gods we meet with the serene semblance of the Buddha fashioned in those fixed attitudes or *mudrās* which had received authority in the art canons of ancient India. It is not, however, the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, whom the multitudinous images of Borobudur are meant to portray, nor even his predecessors, the human Buddhas, who were believed to have preached the good Law in successive ages remote by millions of years from our own. They are Dhyāni-Buddhas, who never assumed human form but who have their eternal existence in the highest heavens. Side by side with these celestial Buddhas we find the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and those other Saviours who receive so large a share in the worship of the Northern Buddhists. The goddess Tārā, too, must have been as popular in Java as she was in India and as she is in Tibet up to the present day.

Easy as it is to recognise the Indian influence in those objects of worship and works of art, it is extremely difficult to answer the many questions which present themselves in connection with the origin and history of

that influence on the civilisation of ancient Java. Who were the men who raised those shrines and fashioned those images? Were they Hindu artists, or were they Javanese masons taught and directed by Indian masters? If they were Indian immigrants, from which part of the continent did they hail? Must we think of the Hindu element in Javanese civilisation as the result of a strong and sudden impulse which, after exhausting its strength, stopped short and left Java to develop its further culture along natural, national lines? Or was it a continued process which, alternately waxing and waning according to circumstances, steadily worked its way throughout the centuries which constitute the Hindu period of Javanese history?

The fact that the best authorities have answered these and similar allied questions in a wholly divergent sense is due to the paucity of historical data. Ancient India, as we all know, possessed no written history, and here again that lack makes itself painfully felt. There is no account whatever of those mercantile and missionary relations between India and Java which have left such lasting traces in the culture of that island. In the whole gigantic literature of ancient India, both Sanskrit and Pali, there is but a single mention of Java, which occurs in the Fourth Canto of the Rāmāyaṇa. The epigraphical records, which to a certain extent must supply the want of historiography, do not throw any light on the early relations between India and the Archipelago, with the exception of a few copperplate charters of the Choḷa Dynasty.

If we turn to the historical documents of Java, we find that the numerous inscriptions, though clearly testifying to Indian influence by their language and script, hardly ever contain a faint allusion to the homeland from which that influence was derived. Java possesses, it is true, two ancient, historical works written in the Old-Javanese or Kawi language, and of immense interest for local history and archæology. One of them, the "Nāgarakṛĕtāgama," was discovered in 1894, on the occasion of the Lombok Expedition, when Dr. Brandes saved the unique manuscript from the burning *kraton* of the last Balinese chief of that island. The work in question, however, which was completed in the year A.D. 1365, gives an account of the dynasties which ruled Eastern Java during the two preceding centuries. It contains hardly any reference to India proper, and is of no help whatever in elucidating the early relations between that country and Java.

For our knowledge of these relations we have to rely entirely on the evidence of the monuments supplemented to a certain extent by the information contained in the Imperial Annals of China and in the itineraries of Chinese pilgrims. Earliest among these pilgrims is Fa Hien, who in the year 414, on his voyage home from Ceylon, having been assailed by a violent storm, arrived at a country which he calls Ye-po-ti, and which must have been either Java or Sumatra.

"In this country," he says, "heretics and Brahmins flourish, but the law of Buddha is not much known."[2]

Disappointingly meagre though this information be, it acquaints us, at least, with the historical fact that about A.D. 400 Indian civilisation was established in the Archipelago and that this civilisation was essentially Brahmanical.

When in the year 671 another Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, on his way to India called at a place, Fo-che, which must have been somewhere near Palembang on the Isle of Sumatra, he found Buddhism in a flourishing condition. That Fo-che was a centre of Hindu civilisation appears from the fact that I-tsing sojourned there for six months in order to acquaint himself with Sanskrit grammar.

The information supplied by the Chinese pilgrims is, on the whole, confirmed by the evidence of the inscriptions. It is very curious that the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of the Archipelago are found not in Java or Sumatra, but in Borneo, an island which we usually associate with head-hunting. From these inscriptions it is evident that about the time of Fa Hien's travels there existed in Eastern Borneo, the present Kutei, on the banks of the Muhakkam River, a state ruled by a line of Hindu or Hinduised *rājas*, who bore names ending in *varman*, such as Aśvavarman and Mūlavarman. These inscriptions, which are composed in plain but pure Sanskrit, record a Brahmanical sacrifice offered up by Brahmanical priests.*

* *Cf.* the author's paper "The Yūpa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, from Koetei (East Borneo)," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. LXXIV. (1918), pp. 167-232.

About half a century later in date—*i.e.*, *circa* A.D. 450—is a group of four rock inscriptions found in Western Java at no great distance from Batavia, the capital of Netherlands-India. They relate to a king of the name of Pūrṇavarman, who calls himself the ruler of the town of Tārumā (or Tārūma). Evidently King Pūrṇavarman was settled in this part of the island, the name of his capital having been preserved in that of the river Chi Tarum, the principal river of Western Java.

One of these inscriptions is carved in bold letters on a boulder lying in the Chi Aruten torrent, and consists of four lines of writing, above which a pair of footprints is deeply cut into the stone. It runs:

"Vikkrāntasyāvanipateḥ
Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇṇavarmaṇaḥ
Tārūmanagarendrasya
Vishṇor iva padadvayam."

("Of the valiant lord of the earth, the illustrious Pūrṇavarman, [who is] the ruler of the Town of Tārūma, [this is] the pair of footprints, like unto Vishṇu's.")

From the king being compared to Vishṇu it has been somewhat rashly concluded that he was a worshipper of that deity. Some authors even refer to the "State religion" of Tārūma as having been Vishnuitic. This much is certain that Pūrṇavarman's records, like those of Mūlavarman, are Brahmanical. The language is Sanskrit.

Now, it is a point of special interest in regard to those early Sanskrit inscriptions of the Archipelago that they are written in a character which is unmistakably South-Indian, and which is practically identical with the early Grantha alphabet used in their inscriptions by the rulers of the Pallava Dynasty. This dynasty, it will be remembered, held sway over the Coromandel coast for a period of nearly five centuries (*circa* A.D. 300-*circa* 800), and has left us a lasting and brilliant memorial of their rule in that wonderful group of temples and sculptures which is usually indicated by the popular name of "The Seven Pagodas."

There is, therefore, good reason to assume that it was Southern India, and in particular the Coromandel coast, which sent forth the emigrants who carried their Brahmanical religion and sacred language to the eastern islands. This conclusion is confirmed by further evidence. The princes of the Pallava Dynasty have, almost without exception, names ending in *varman;* we noticed that in the earliest epigraphical records of Java and Borneo we meet with similar royal names. These documents are undated, but in the later, dated inscriptions of Java it is the Śaka era which is invariably used. Now, this era, commencing from the year A.D. 78, is essentially the reckoning of Southern India, whereas the Vikrama era—which was in vogue in the North—appears to have been unknown in the Archipelago.

The two earliest dated inscriptions found in Java are those of Changal and Dinaya. The Changal stone

inscription is composed in Sanskrit verses and written in a later form of the same South Indian alphabet, which is used in the rock inscriptions of Western Java. It records the consecration of a *Linga* by a king of the name of Sañjaya, who evidently was settled in Central Java, and whose ancestors belonged to Kuñjarakuñja, a locality in Southern India. It is dated in the Śaka year 654, corresponding to A.D. 732.

The Dinaya inscription, which is dated in the Śaka year 682, corresponding to A.D. 760, records the erection of an image of the Indian sage Agastya. Now, Agastya is the Ṛishi, who is especially worshipped in Southern India, where he is believed to dwell as a *yogi* on the top of the sacred hill named after him, Agastya-Malai or Agastya-Kūṭam, on the boundary of Travancore State and Tinnevelly. Agastya is credited with having carried Brahmanical civilisation across the Vindhya Mountains into the Deccan. Besides, he is identified with the asterism Canopus, one of the brightest stars of the Southern sky. It is said that at his rising at the end of the monsoon the waters come to rest. *Agastyodaye jalāni prasīdanti ityāgamaḥ.* This accounts, no doubt, for his being greatly revered among the seafaring population of Southern India. In all probability, it was through their agency that the cultus of Agastya was carried to Java.

In this connection it may also be remembered that in the Malay Archipelago the immigrants from India proper are designated by the name of *orang Kĕling* or

Kling, and this term is undoubtedly derived from Kalinga, the ancient name of the tribe inhabiting the east coast of India between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī.*

The cumulative evidence which we have been able to adduce points to Southern India as the homeland of Indo-Javanese culture. The inscriptions, however, mentioned in this connection are all Brahmanical. If now we turn to the two earliest Buddhist inscriptions known to exist in Java, it is surprising to find that they are written in a character which has been described as an early type of Nāgarī and which decidedly originates from Northern India. Are we then to assume that the Hindu emigrants who introduced Buddhism into Java came from the North, as the promoters of Brahmanism in all likelihood hailed from the South of the Indian Continent?

The earlier one of these two Buddhist inscriptions is found at Kalasan. It was edited simultaneously by Dr. (now Sir) Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and by Dr. Brandes, and is of great importance for the history

* *Cf.* Yule and Burnell, "Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases" (London, 1886), *i. v.* Kling. Kalinga is perhaps best known in connection with Aśoka's conquest mentioned in his thirteenth rock-edict. It is curious to remember that during the *Sūtra* period Kalinga was considered to be outside the pale of Aryan civilisation. Baudhāyana says in his "Dharmasūtra" (I. i. 2, 15): *Padbhyāṃ sa kurute pāpam yaḥ Kalingān prapadyate. Ṛishayo nishkritiṃ tasya prāhur Vaiśvānaraṃ haviḥ* ("He commits sin through his feet, who travels to the country of the Kalingas. The sages declare the Vaiśvānarī *ishti* to be a purification for him"). ("Sacred Books of the East," vol. XIV., p. 148.)

of Buddhism in Java.* It is dated in the Śaka year 700, corresponding to A.D. 778. In it we find recorded that a temple dedicated to the great Saviouress Tārā, together with a dwelling for the noble *bhikshus* who know the Vinaya and the Mahāyāna, was built by a local ruler who calls himself Kariyāna-Panaṅkaraṇaḥ, at the instance of the *Guru*(*s*) of the Śailendra King.

The other inscription found at Kĕlurak (Kloerak) is dated in the Śaka year 704 (A.D. 782). Unfortunately the writing has been obliterated to such an extent that it is impossible to obtain a complete reading of the text. This much is certain, that it refers to the consecration of an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Mañjughosha. It had been set up at the instance of the *Guru* of a king who is called in the inscription "The Ornament of the Śailendra Dynasty."

Which then was this dynasty which, as these two inscriptions show, played such a prominent part in promoting Mahāyāna Buddhism in Java? The brilliant researches of a French scholar, M. George Cœdès, enable us to answer this question.† By ingeniously combining the evidence of the epigraphical records with the data of the Chinese annals, M. Cœdès has revealed the important historical fact that during several centuries there

* Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, "A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java" (*Journal Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*), vol. XVII., part II. (No. XLVII.), pp. 1-10. Dr. J. Brandes, "Een Nāgarī-opschrift gevonden tusschen Kalasan en Prambanan," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, vol. XXXI (1886), pp. 240-260.

† George Cœdès, "Le royaume de Çrīvijaya," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. XVIII. (1918), No. 6.

flourished on the northern coast of Sumatra a Hinduised Malay kingdom known by the Sanskrit name of Śrīvijaya. Its capital of the same name, which must have stood somewhere near the modern town of Palembang, was undoubtedly the same Fo-che where, in the year 671, the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing sojourned six months in order to acquaint himself with Sanskrit grammar. The kingdom of Śrīvijaya, which at the time of its greatest expansion included the country of Kaṭāha (modern Kĕdah) on the Malay Peninsula as well as a large portion of Java, was ruled over by a royal house known by the dynastic name of Śailendra. Epigraphical records scattered from the Coromandel coast to the heart of Java bear testimony to the zeal of the Śailendras in promoting the Good Law and raising magnificent monuments for the worship of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas.

The magnificence of their architecture may still be admired in that very shrine of Tārā, the consecration of which is recorded on the stone of Kalasan. For there can be little doubt that the temple referred to in the inscription is the Chaṇḍi Kalasan, one of the finest ruins of Central Java. The inscribed slab was discovered in its immediate vicinity.

It is very tempting to assume that it was that same powerful and pious dynasty of the Śailendras to which we owe the greatest and most renowned monument not only of Java but of the whole Buddhist world—the Stūpa of Borobudur. The origin and history of the

Borobudur are shrouded in mystery. No foundation record nor relic casket has come to light to disclose for what special purpose this gigantic pile was raised. Year after year hundreds of skilful hands must have been busy in dressing and fitting the stones and patiently fashioning those endless rows of sculptured panels which make the Borobudur one of the wonders of the world. The Parthenon of Asia, Mr. Havell has called it, and as regards height of artistic inspiration and skilful execution it may well be placed on a line with the famous shrine of the Akropolis. But what an enormous distance in religious feeling separates these two temples. In the friezes of the Parthenon all is activity, in the sculptures of the Borobudur all is repose.

"To compare them with the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon," Mr. Havell says,* "would serve no useful purpose, though as artistic achievements of the highest class the best Borobudur sculptures would not suffer by the comparison. There is as little kinship between the academic refinement of the Parthenon sculptures and this supremely devout and spontaneous art, as there is between Indian and Hellenic religious thought."

Whether the Borobudur was originally built to enshrine holy relics or whether it was raised to commemorate some real or imaginary event in the story of Buddhism we do not know. But manifestly the great monument of Java belongs to that most typical class of Buddhist buildings which originally served the pur-

* E. B. Havell, "Indian Sculpture and Painting" (London, 1908), p. 115.

FIG. I.—THE STŪPA OF BOROBUDUR.

Facing p. 25

pose of relic-shrines and which are indicated by the Sanskrit terms of *stūpa*, *chaitya*, and *dhātugarbha* (modern *dagoba*). As such, the Borobudur is undoubtedly a remote descendant of those early *stūpas* of Central India—the "Topes" of Bharhut and Sanchi. But at the same time it will be evident at a first glance that this very complicated edifice, rising in a number of terraces and crowned with a cluster of perforated *dagobas*, is very different from those simple hemispherical structures of Central India which derive their chief artistic interest from the stone railings and richly sculptured *toraṇas* which surround them.

It is true that in India proper and in Farther India we can trace the initial progress of a development—the original dome being raised on a succession of square platforms—which reaches its final stage in Borobudur. But no other edifice of exactly the same type is found on the Indian Continent nor, we must add, anywhere in the Archipelago. The Borobudur may, indeed, be called unique. In the Isle of Sumatra *stūpas* are found,* but of an entirely different class. The circumstance that in Java itself no other *stūpas* exist is very surprising, if we remember in how large number buildings of this kind used to be raised in all Buddhist countries.

Unique as the Borobudur may be called architecturally, its rich sculptural decoration, too, is unsurpassed by anything found in India proper. It is not only due to the wonderful vastness and the excellence of those

* H. Colijn, "Neerlands Indië" (Amsterdam, 1913), vol. I., p. 222.

hundreds of panels which adorn the walls and balustrades of the four long passages, through which the faithful, rising from terrace to terrace, performed the solemn perambulation of the sacred monument. It is, above all, the spirit of supreme repose, of serene calmness pervading them in which the Buddhist religious ideal finds so eloquent an expression.

When studying the ground-plan, we are struck by the grand harmony of the whole complicated structure. The body of the building consists of a succession of six square terraces, each side being relieved by a double projection. The lowest terrace is square, each side 497 feet long. The superstructure is formed by three circular platforms carrying as many rings of small *stūpas* or *dagobas*, thirty-two, twenty-four, and sixteen respectively in number, so that their total amounts to seventy-two. These *dagobas* are of a very peculiar type, not met with anywhere else. Instead of a solid dome, which is typical of such monuments in the Indian Continent, they present the appearance of a perforated, bell-shaped dome, each enshrining a Buddha image seated in the attitude of preaching the law (*dharma-chakra-mudrā*). The innermost ring of those cage-like shrines encloses a central *stūpa* considerably larger in size (52 feet in diameter) crowning the whole monument and originally surmounted with a lofty pinnacle.

The unadorned and plain character of the upper circular platforms is very striking if compared with the rich decoration which has so lavishly been applied to

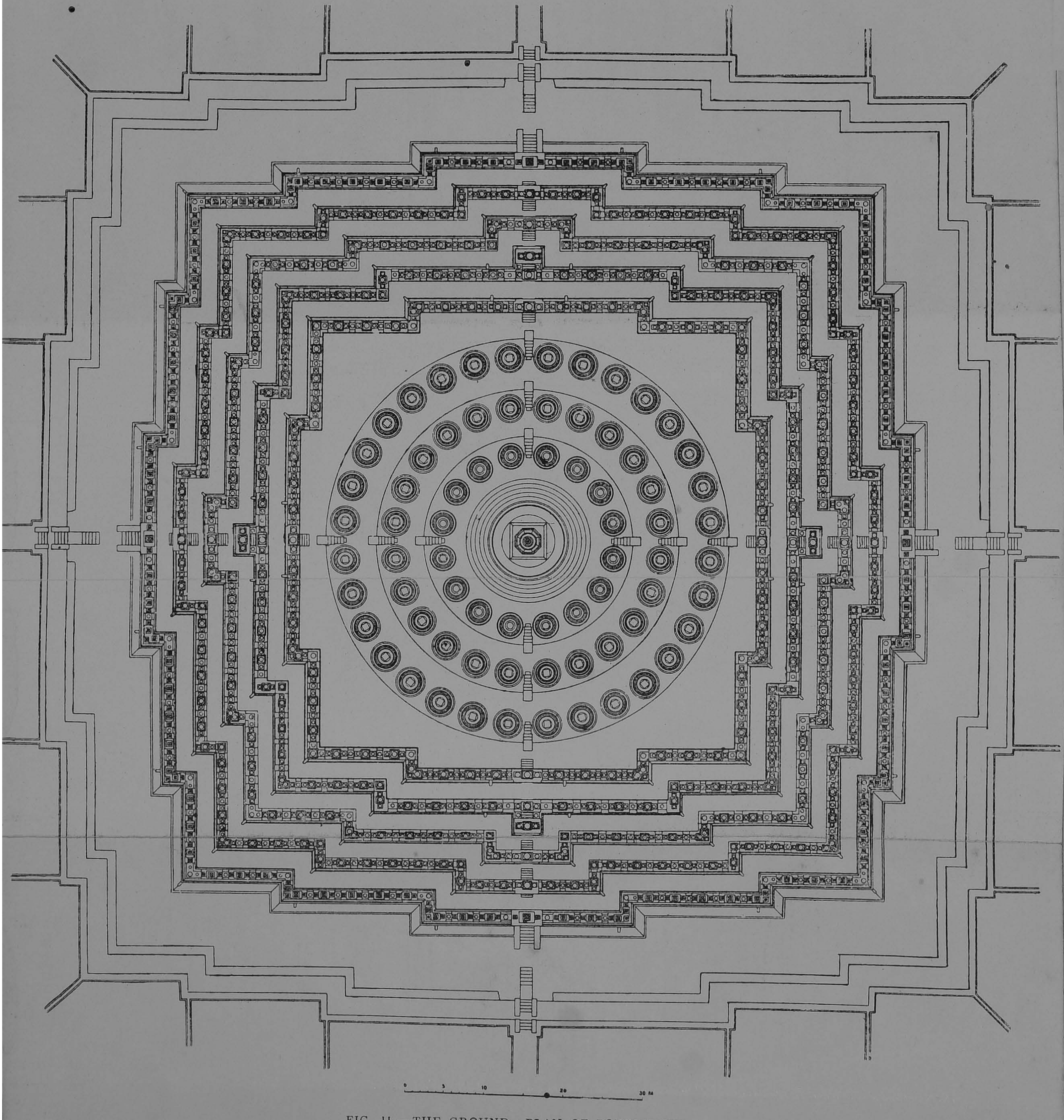

FIG. II.—THE GROUND PLAN OF BOROBUDUR.

Facing p. 26

the lower, square stories of the edifice. It has been conjectured that this contrast is intentional and has a symbolical meaning, the lower part of the monument representing the world of the senses and the upper portion relating to the realm of the mind.

The square terraces, too, are decorated with five superposed rows of life-sized Buddha figures, seated in richly sculptured niches. It has been recognised long ago that these images represent the celestial Buddhas of the Mahāyāna. Thus, on the east side of the monument there are no less than ninety-two figures of Akshobhya seated in the earth-touching attitude. On the south side there is the same number of images showing Ratnasambhava in the gift-bestowing pose. The west side is adorned with ninety-two images of Amitābha seated in the attitude of meditation, the right hand resting palm upwards on the left, both being on the lap. The north side has the same number of figures representing Amoghasiddha in the gesture of imparting protection, the right hand being raised and displayed palm outwards. The uppermost rows of Buddha figures, sixty-four in number, as well as the seventy-two images enclosed in the perforated *dagobas*, are believed to represent the fifth Dhyāni-Buddha, Vairochana. We thus arrive at a total of 504 Buddha images.

At the cardinal points four flights of steps lead up from terrace to terrace to the central *dagoba*, which evidently was the Holy of Holies of the whole shrine. They are embellished with magnificent gateways placed at the entrance of each terrace. However different in structure

and decoration from the well-known *toraṇas* of the early *stūpas* of Central India, the gateways of Borobudur have preserved one peculiar decorative element which is undoubtedly of Indian origin. The most salient feature of these gateways is the magnificent monster-head right over the entrance, which is regarded as an effigy of the terrible god Kāla, although, if traced back to its Indian prototypes, it is found to be primarily a lion's head. In fact, as such it is still known among the Dravidian architects of the Deccan.* Now, this so-called Kāla head, on which the Javanese artists have allowed their phantasy full play, is usually combined with another decorative element, likewise of Indian origin—namely, a pair of *makara* heads which are placed at the foot of both door jambs. The *Kāla-makara* motif, as the combined ornament is called by Dutch archæologists, stands foremost among the decorative devices of Indo-Javanese art.

It is well known that the *makara* is a very favourite theme in the art of India, too, but different opinions have been expressed as to its original significance. Its curled-up proboscis suggests connection with the elephant, but in Indian literature the *makara* is invariably represented as an aquatic animal. We need only recall the amusing story of the *makara* Karālamukha and the monkey Raktamukha, which forms the framework of the fourth book of the Pañchatantra and which the Buddhists have adapted for purposes of edification and converted

* G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, "Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde" (Paris, 1914), vol. I., p. 61.

FIG. III.—GATEWAY OF BOROBUDUR.

Facing p. 28

into a *jātaka* or birth story.* On account of that strange combination of elephantine and fish-like properties, Professor Grünwedel designates the *makara* by the name of "sea-elephant."†

If, however, we trace the *makara* of Indian art back to its earliest prototypes, it becomes manifest that its origin is to be sought in an animal which certainly does not strike us as peculiarly decorative—namely, the crocodile. It is above the entrance of the Lomas Rishi cave of Bihār that we find the *makara* in its earliest traceable form, and here there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that it is the crocodile which the sculptor intended to portray. Now, however tempting it would be to follow the gradual metamorphosis from the natural animal of the early caves of India to the fantastical creature of Javanese art, it would exceed the limits of the present paper. Let me only say that the next stage in that development is found on the *toraṇas* of the famous *stūpa* of Bharhut, in Central India, where both ends of the triple architrave are decorated with *makaras*, still, on the whole, retaining their original character of crocodiles.‡

* The story is given in two *jātakas*—namely, the "Vānarinda-jātaka" and the "Suṃsumāra-jātaka," which are Nos. 57 and 208 respectively of the Pali collection. *Cf.* E. B. Cowell, "The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births" (Cambridge, 1895-1913), vol. I., pp. 142 *f.*, and vol II., pp. 110-112.

† "Buddhist Art in India" (London, 1901), p. 57.

‡ Alexander Cunningham, "The Stūpa of Bharhut" (London, 1879), Plates VI. and IX. For the further development of the *makara* in Indian art, *cf.* H. Cousens, "The Makara in Hindu

It is, therefore, the *Kāla-makara* ornament which connects the gateways of Borobudur with Indian art. But for the rest it will be seen at a glance that this gateway differs from anything found in India proper. The very *Kāla-makara* ornament, though undoubtedly derived from elements of Indian art, is the outcome of an indigenous combination and development. Both this decorative device and the gateway which it adorns are not Indian, but Indo-Javanese, and the same may be said with regard to the monument to which they belong.

A survey of the illustrative sculptures will lead to the same conclusion. If, on ascending the sacred monument by the eastern flight of steps, we turn at once to the left and perform the perambulation, or *Pradakshiṇā*, we have on our right hand a double series of sculptured panels. The upper row refers to the legend of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. This row of 120 reliefs does not end with the Master's death, or Nirvāṇa, as one would expect, but represents his life up to the moment of his first sermon in the Deer Park near Benares, where, to use the Buddhist phrase, he commenced turning the Wheel of the Law. At first sight it may seem strange that thus the latter half of the Buddha's life covering his whole activity as a wandering teacher of religion has been excluded from sculptural representation. It should, however, be borne in mind that the sculptors who

Ornament," *Annual Report Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-1904 (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 227-231. Mr. Cousens' supposition that the development of the *makara* has been influenced by the rhinoceros and the tapir we find it somewhat difficult to accept.

carved these wonderful panels were not free in the choice of their subjects. It has been recognised that they closely followed certain sacred texts, and that in rendering the life-story of the Master it was the Sanskrit book "Lalitavistara" which they illustrated.* Now, that celebrated work does not contain the whole story of the Buddha's life. It dwells on the events of his childhood and youth, on the circumstances which resulted in his great Renunciation, and his adoption of the mendicant's mode of life which enabled him to find the Supreme Truth and thus acquire Bodhi or Spiritual Enlightenment.

It is this period of the Buddha's life which we find illustrated in the 120 sculptured panels of the Borobudur with a fulness of detail unequalled by anything we know in India proper, with the sole exception of the Græco-Buddhist school which flourished in Gandhāra (the present Peshawar District) in the first centuries of the Christian era. It is, indeed, to this early phase of Indian sculpture that we have to revert in order to find the first prototypes of many a well-known scene from the Buddha's life. But it will be seen that the Javanese sculptors, although religiously following the sacred texts and the examples fixed by tradition, were by no means slavish imitators of their Indian predecessors. In picturing animal and vegetable life, in portraying palaces and dwellings of a more humble description, in rendering dress, ornaments, arms, and accoutrements—in fact, in all that relates to everyday human existence—they

* C. M. Pleyte, "Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Borobudur" (Amsterdam, 1901).

allowed themselves to be guided by what they observed in their own Javanese surroundings. It is not only all this wealth of detail which bears a peculiar indigenous stamp; it is the whole style of these sculptures which has a character of its own.

Besides the 120 *tableaux* which relate to the life of the Buddha, there are several other series of sculptured panels which cover the whole surface of the walls along the four galleries. Again we are reminded of the *stūpa* of Bharhut, when we find that the balustrade of the first gallery is adorned with a number of *jātakas* or birth-stories relating to the previous existences of the Buddha. It is not, however, the Pali "Jātaka" book which the sculptors have followed, but the "Jātakamālā," one of the most famous Buddhist books written in Sanskrit.* The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing testifies to the popularity of this book in the Indian Archipelago. "There are more than ten islands in the Southern Sea," he says;† "where both priests and laymen recite the 'Jātakamālā.'"

The total number of sculptured panels which decorate the walls and balustrades along the four galleries amounts to not less than 1,300.‡ The basement was

* "The Jātakamālā," by Āryaśūra, edited by Dr. H. Kern, *Harvard Oriental Series* (Boston, Mass., 1891). "The Jātakamālā or Garland of Birth-Stories," translated from the Sanskrit by J. S. Speyer, "Sacred Books of the Buddhists" (London, 1895).

† I-tsing, "Records of the Buddhist Religion" (ed. Takakusu), p. 163.

‡ If placed side by side, the sculptures of the Borobudur would extend for three miles.

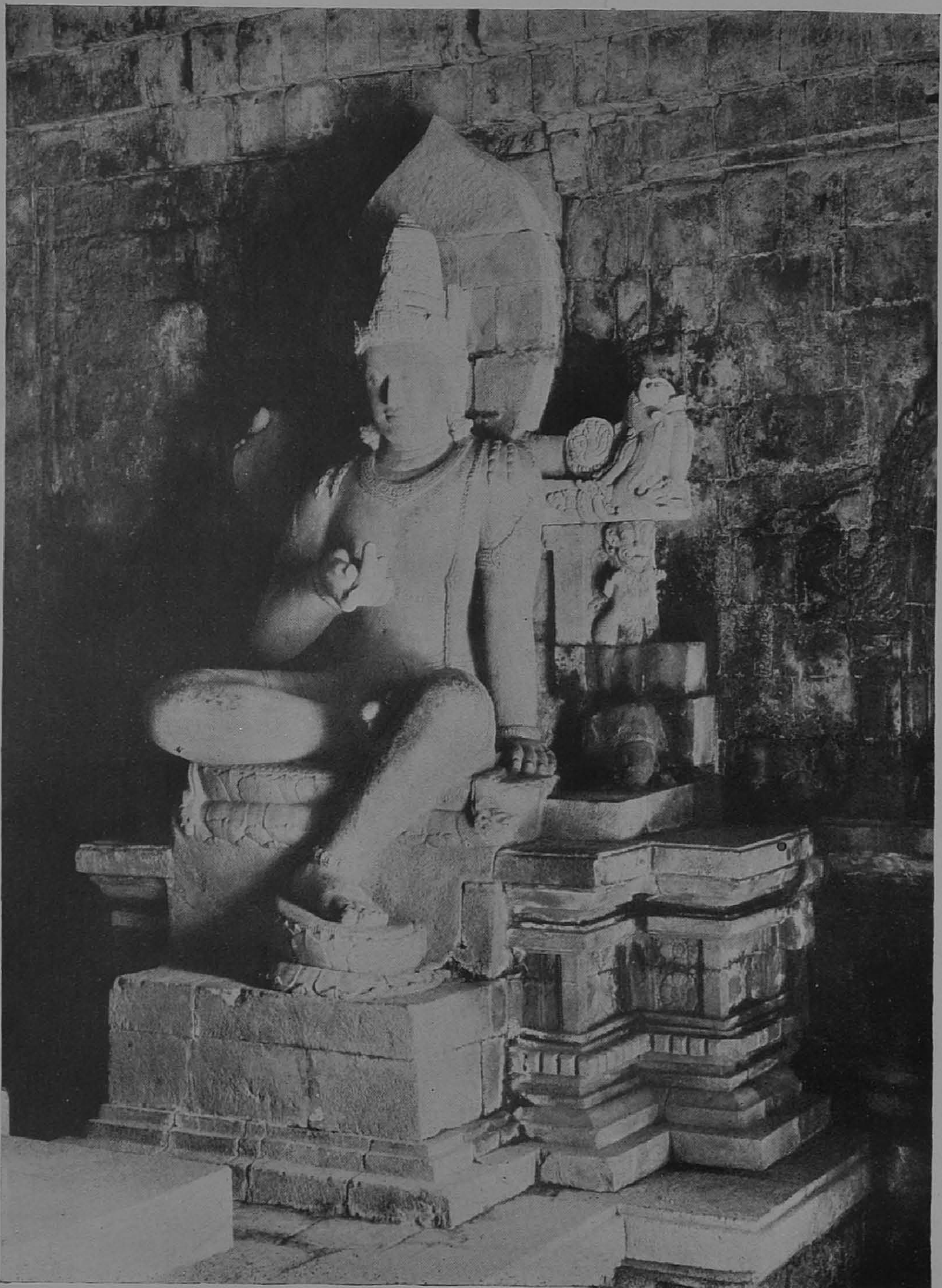

FIG. IV.—BODHISATTVA OF CHAṆḌI MĚNDUT.

Facing p. 33

embellished with 160 more reliefs, but these are no longer visible, as this part of the building was encased even before the sculptural decoration had been completed. Obviously this encasement was made on account of a threatening destructive subsistence. Some of the reliefs on the basement are provided with short inscriptions, evidently merely for the guidance of the masons and not meant for permanent record. These scribblings, however, are important, as they afford palæographical evidence enabling epigraphists to assign an approximate date to the monument on which they are found. On that evidence Professor Krom assumes that the Borobudur was built in the second half of the eighth century of our era.

Besides the Borobudur, there are other early Buddhist shrines which would deserve a detailed description, but in the present paper can only briefly be mentioned. Not far from the great monument there are two temples, Chaṇḍi Mĕndut and Chaṇḍi Pawon, of which the former in particular excels by its architectural and decorative qualities.* It enshrines three images of great beauty; the central one shows the historical Buddha in the act of preaching his first sermon in the Deer Park near Benares, as is indicated by the pose of his hands (*dharmachakra-mudrā*) and by the symbol of the wheel and the two antelopes at his feet. These symbols are manifestly derived from Indian art, as is also the case with the

* B. Kersjes and G. den Hamer, "De Tjandi Mĕndoet vóór de restauratie." Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia—The Hague, 1903).

decorative details of the throne on which the Buddha is seated: the *vyālaka*, or leogryph, standing on the top of an elephant couchant, which on both sides supports the projecting ends of the transom, the latter being embellished with the usual two *makara* heads.*

The colossal images themselves, wonderfully placid in their divine majesty, are to be reckoned among the great masterpieces which Buddhist art has produced. They will stand comparison with the best works of the Gupta age.†

A third Buddhist sanctuary which deserves special mention is the temple of Kalasan, which excels by the wealth of its decoration, but unfortunately it is in a very ruinous condition. There can be little doubt that this is the very temple dedicated to the goddess Tārā, the erection of which is recorded in the Sanskrit inscription of the Śaka year 700, to which reference has been made above.

•

We must now turn our attention to a highly interesting group of temples which are scattered over the lonely and inhospitable plateau of Dyeng, 6,500 feet above the sea. There are in reality five distinct groups of temples, some well preserved, others mere heaps of stone. It is well known that in India proper the origin of ancient temples is often ascribed by popular tradition to the five

* *Annual Report Archæological Survey of India for* 1903-1904, p. 216.

† Havell, "The Ideals of Indian Art" (London, 1911). Plate II. gives a good reproduction of the Avalokiteśvara image of Chaṇḍi Mĕndut (not of Borobudur, as stated in the text).

FIG. V.—CHAṆḌI BHĪMA.

Facing p. 35

Pāṇḍavas. The best known instance is afforded by that group of rock-cut shrines on the Madras coast, which are designated as the *raths* of Dharmarāja, Bhīma, Arjuna, Sahadeva, and their common spouse, Draupadī. They belong to the seventh century of our era.*

Now, it is not a little curious that in Java exactly the same thing has happened. Nothing certainly can better serve to demonstrate the celebrity which those heroes of the great Indian epic have acquired on Javanese soil than the fact that among those ancient temples of the Dyeng plateau the most prominent have been named after them. Thus we have Chaṇḍi Puntadeva (a Javanese name for Yudhishṭhira), Chaṇḍi Bhīma or Vrĕkedara, and Chaṇḍi Arjuna. As in the *Wayang*, or shadow-show, that highly popular entertainment of the Javanese, those heroes of ancient India are invariably accompanied by the clowns Sĕmar and his two sons, it is not surprising to find that some of the smaller and more ruined temples of the Dyeng group are indicated by the names of those truly Indonesian satellites of the Pāṇḍavas. It goes without saying that the present names of the Dyeng temples, such as Chaṇḍi Bhīma and Chaṇḍī Arjuna, however interesting from a folklorist point of view, do not give any clue as to their origin and history.† We may conclude from the numerous images found on the spot that they are Brahmanical, and that they must once have been dedi-

* Fergusson, "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," Revised edition (London, 1910), vol. I., pp. 327 *ff*.

† *Cf.* the author's "Two Notes on Javanese Archæology," *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1917, pp. 371-376.

cated to the worship of Śiva. It is this cultus which throughout the Hindu period of Javanese history was the form of Hinduism prevailing in the island side by side with Buddhism. In the course of time both religions became curiously blended.

Śiva was worshipped in Java under different forms, but preferably at Bhaṭāra Guru. He is then represented as a Brahmanical ascetic, bearded and corpulent, carrying a rosary and a water-pot.* This form appears to be peculiar to the Hinduism of the Archipelago.

What strikes us most in those Brahmanical temples is not only the classical harmony of their style, but also the great simplicity of their decoration. In this respect they present a remarkable contrast to the Buddhist temple of Kalasan. It would, however, be wrong on that account to assign them to an earlier period. From inscriptions found on the spot we may safely assume that they were built about A.D. 800, and consequently must be nearly contemporaneous with the Kalasan temple.

Here we are faced with another interesting question. Is it possible to connect these earliest Brahmanical temples of Java with any particular style of architecture known from the Indian Continent? We may state at once that there exists a structural principle which the Javanese temples have in common with the Hindu temples of India proper. They are built on the horizontal or corbelling principle—in other words, without either

* H. Colijn, "Neerlands Indië," vol. I., p. 225. Krom, "Inleiding," Plate 19*a*. H. H. Juynboll, "Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum" (Leiden, 1909), pp. 9-12, Plate III., Fig. 1.

arch or vault.* This mode of construction obviously excludes the possibility of covering over vast interior spaces, the great problem of Western architecture.

But apart from this common formative principle, these Javanese temples present a style wholly different from that of the well-known temple-towers of Northern India. It was supposed by Fergusson that there existed close relations between Javanese and Chalukyan architecture. But this has been disproved by later investigators. It appears that it is the Dravidian style which shows a certain affinity with the early temple architecture of Java.† Here again, therefore, the evidence points to South Indian influence. If, however, we compare the earliest known examples of Dravidian architecture—namely, the temples of Māmallapuram near Madras (the so-called "Seven Pagodas"), it will be seen at a glance that the difference is more striking than the similarity. At first sight it may seem surprising that the early Javanese temples are so different in style from anything known in India proper. It should, however, be remembered that these temples, although the earliest surviving specimens of Hindu-Javanese architecture, are separated by more than three centuries from the rock-inscriptions in Sanskrit which prove the existence of Hindu settlers in Western Java. In other words, we may consider the

* James Fergusson, "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture." Revised edition (London, 1910), vol. I., pp. 310 *ff*. In Javanese architecture we notice, moreover, the absence of pillars.

† J. W. Yzerman, "De Chalukyasche bouwstijl op den Diëng" (Album Kern (Leiden, 1903), pp. 287 *ff*).

Dyeng temples as the outcome of a long period of building activity of which unfortunately no specimens have been preserved. In the construction of their temples, as well as in the building of their great *stūpa*, the Javanese architects must have followed the guidance of their own genius. There can be little doubt that, when Hindu civilisation was first introduced into the island, it was the task of Indian architects and sculptors to teach the Javanese both the art of stone architecture and stone sculpture. They met with pupils singularly gifted for artistic effort, and, indeed, it may be said that the Javanese, although not perhaps possessed of the same depth of religious feeling, soon surpassed their masters in the works of art.

Javanese excellence in plastic art is not only proved by the admirable reliefs of Borobudur, but also by another magnificent series of sculptured *tableaux* which illustrate the story of Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. Although on the Indian Continent there is no story more beloved and no poem more renowned than Vālmīki's epic, yet it is on the Javanese temple of Prambanan that Rāma's adventures have been carved in stone in a manner unequalled by anything found in the Indian homeland.

The Rāma reliefs which are found on the Hazāra Rāmaswāmi temple of Vijayanagar have been described as "beautifully executed and carved with great life and spirit."* But how childish and insipid are those sculp-

* V. A. Smith, "History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon" (Oxford, 1911), p. 230 and Plate XLVII.

FIG. VI.—RĀMA RELIEF FROM PRAMBANAN.

Facing p. 38

tures compared with the rendering of the same subject by the Javanese artist. Whereas the Borobudur sculptures are supreme in rendering the Buddhist ideal of mental repose, those of Prambanan picture the heroic deeds of the divine Rāma with great vigour and perfect lucidity. Mr. Havell, while reproducing several of the Prambanan reliefs, rightly refers to them in terms of high praise.*

As regards their interpretation, a great deal of research still remains to be done. Neither Dr. Groneman, who published a portfolio of excellent plates relating to the Prambanan sculptures,† nor Mr. Havell, who relied too much on the previous author, have succeeded in every case in offering wholly satisfactory explanations. This is largely due to the circumstance that the sculptors to whom we owe this wonderful series of carved pictures do not appear to have followed any written text, as did their brethren who adorned the Borobudur. The story of Rāma, as illustrated at Prambanan, differs in many details both from the text of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa and from its Old-Javanese adaptation. May we not assume that the Javanese artists, in rendering a subject so universally known and eminently popular, did not require a written text to guide their chisel but could rely entirely on their imagination? It is this circumstance which would account for that wonderful vividness and vigour of expression by which the Prambanan sculptures excel.

* E. B. Havell, "Indian Sculpture and Painting" (London, 1908), pp. 132 *ff.*, Plates XXXIX-XL.

† J. Groneman, "Tjandi Parambanan op Midden-Java" (The Hague, 1893).

Let us take the first relief of the series. It shows the four-armed god Vishṇu reclining on the World-serpent Śesha in the midst of the waters of the Ocean which is peopled with manifold aquatic animals. The god is attended by his faithful satellite and vehicle, the giant-bird Garuḍa, who already has assumed that fantastic form which we find further developed in Javanese and Balinese art. So far the description of the relief does not offer any difficulty.

The right-hand side of the panel is occupied by a group of seated figures in royal attire, headed by a bearded personage, who stretches forth his hands in an attitude of supplication. This group has been variously interpreted. Yet, in our opinion, there can be little doubt that it represents the gods headed by Brahmā who approach Vishṇu, the supreme deity, and beseech him to incarnate himself in Rāma, so that he may save the world from the terrible giant-king Rāvaṇa.

Now, it is interesting that this opening scene of the Rāma story differs from the version both of the Sanskrit and Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, but agrees in a remarkable way with the corresponding passage in Kālidāsa's "Raghuvaṃśa."

I must abstain from a detailed description of the further *tableaux* in which the adventures of the divine hero are so admirably told. I wish, however, not to abandon the subject without having called attention to the eminently humorous manner in which the Javanese sculptors have rendered the monkey-hero Hanuman. Whether that humour was intentional it is now impos-

sible to decide, but it must be admitted that the artist has marvellously succeeded in portraying the divine ape in his various moods.

The twenty-four panels of the Rāmāyaṇa series, several of which comprise two or more scenes, decorate the inner face of the balustrade which encloses the chief temple of the Prambanan group. This temple is consecrated to Śiva, and still contains the stone image of that deity. To the right and left of the chief sanctuary there are temples of Brahmā and Vishṇu, so that the whole group was devoted to the worship of the Triad or Trimūrti, Śiva taking the central and chief place. The last one of the twenty-four Rāmāyaṇa panels shows in a very graphic manner the building of the famous dyke to Lankā (Ceylon) by Rāma's faithful allies, the host of monkeys. Presumably the story was continued along the balustrade of the adjoining Brahmā temple, but of that ruined monument only detached fragments have been recovered. The balustrade of the Vishṇu temple is decorated with a series of relievoes illustrating the Kṛishṇa legend, which have not yet been published.

The monuments of Hindu-Javanese art so far described—the great *stūpa* of Borobudur and contemporaneous Buddhist shrines, the Brahmanical temples of the Dyeng and of Prambanan—all belong to Central Java. They cover a period of wellnigh two centuries (*circa* A.D. 700-*circa* 900). About A.D. 900 the building activity in the central part of the island suddenly ceases. Was this abrupt cessation of the golden age of Javanese

art history due to political revolutions or to one of those catastrophes of nature such as not infrequently befall that highly volcanic country? The question cannot be answered.

This much is certain, that shortly afterwards Hindu-Javanese art revived in Eastern Java. Prominent among the princes who held residence in this part of the island is in the first place King Airlanga (born in A.D. 991) of the Dharmavaṃśa Dynasty. His career is told in two extensive inscriptions in Sanskrit and Kawi which are engraved on both sides of a large slab, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum.*

First it is the kingdom of Kĕdiri, then that of Tumapĕl or Singhasāri, and finally that of Majapahit which becomes the centre of political power. During the reign of its most illustrious king, Hayam Vuruk, the state of Majapahit extended its sway over the Malay Archipelago from Northern Sumatra as far as New Guinea, thus covering the whole area of the present Netherlands-India. It was at the court of this king that the poet Prapañcha composed the panegyric "Nāgarakrĕtāgama," in which he extols the power of his royal patron (A.D. 1365).

This silver age of Hindu-Javanese art has produced many works of great excellence. But in the present paper it would be out of place to deal with them in detail. During this period we find Javanese plastic art

* The Calcutta Museum contains also several Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures from Java. *Cf.* J. Anderson, "Catalogue of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum" (Calcutta, 1883), Part II., pp. 190-195 and 355-363.

FIG. VII.—RĀKSHASA FROM CHAṆḌI SEVU.

Facing p. 43

steadily moving farther away from the art of India from which it took its origin. Most of all this is evidenced by the reliefs which decorate some of the temples of Eastern Java, especially Chaṇḍi Jago and Chaṇḍi Panataran. These sculptures present a type altogether different from that of the earlier period. It is the purely indigenous, the true Indonesian style which here has gained the ascendancy.

Here we find the same fantastic spirit which reveals itself in those grotesque, and yet in their quaintness so highly decorative, puppets of the Javanese shadow-show. The difference in feeling between this *Wayang* style and that of the classical period of Indo-Javanese art can in no way be better demonstrated than by comparing the sculptured panels of Chaṇḍi Panataran in Eastern Java with those of Prambanan which, as we saw, belong to the best that the classical age has produced.* Both illustrate the story of the divine hero Rāma with equal love of detail, but how widely different is the manner of expression.

Mr. Havell, in speaking of the Rāmāyaṇa series of Prambanan, says: † "The extravagant fables of the exploits of Rāma's monkey allies are told almost in the spirit of burlesque, and the imagination of the sculptors sometimes runs wild in trying to depict the horrors of the trackless jungles and their demon inhabitants." What would the distinguished art critic

* Brandes, "Beschrijving von Tjandi Singasari" (1909), Plates 28*, 29*, and 30*.

† "Indian Sculpture and Painting," p. 133, Plates XXXIX. and XL.

have said with reference to the Rāmāyaṇa scenes of Panataran? Those of Prambanan certainly might be said to display a remarkable restraint, if compared with those legions of capricious shapes which haunt the pictured temple walls of Panataran. "Cloud scenes" is the appellation applied to them by a Dutch archæologist, and the name is appropriate. For in all these scenes we find the quaint and curious figures of divine warriors, threatening demons, and super-apes mingled with decorative clouds in infinite variety of fantastic form.

It is very remarkable that, whereas the exterior sculptural decoration of these temples of Eastern Java thus exhibits a truly Indonesian type, the images enshrined in the sanctum and niches of those same shrines continue the classical Hindu-Javanese style of Central Java.* This circumstance has led some archæologists to assume that the exterior was decorated by Javanese artists in their own style, whilst the images were fashioned by sculptors from the Indian Continent. This assumption seems to receive some measure of corroboration from the fact that several of these images bear inscriptions (denoting their respective names) in the Nāgarī character.† Professor Krom, however, rightly points out that, if indeed Indian artists had come over to Java to carve these images, they would undoubtedly

* See the Buddhist statues reproduced in Dr. Brandes' "Tjandi Djago" (1904).

† It may be observed that in India proper images hardly ever bear inscriptions mentioning the names of the deities which they represent.

have produced works of art similar to those which in their days were in vogue on the Indian Continent. This is by no means the case. Manifestly the divine images of Eastern Java exhibit a style not found anywhere in India proper. In fact, this silver age of Hindu-Javanese art coincides with that period of Indian history which witnessed the decline and fall of ancient Hindu civilisation and the ascendancy of Muslim power. Let us only remember that Airlanga, the first great ruler of Eastern Java, was a contemporary of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazni, the notorious iconoclast who wrought havoc among the temples of Northern India. The reign of Hayam Vuruk, greatest among the monarchs of Majapahit, almost exactly coincides with that of Sultan Firoz Shāh of the Tughlaq Dynasty, of whom numerous monuments still exist in and around the capital of India. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Empires of Singhasāri and Majapahit flourished in Eastern Java, was the period when the victorious Muslim rulers of India raised their proud mosques and mausoleums on the ruins of Hindu temples.

We shall, therefore, have to assume that during the period of East Javanese art there existed two distinct styles of sculpture side by side. The one school continued the great traditions of the Indo-Javanese art of Central Java, the other derived its inspiration from purely Indonesian sources. Perhaps the latter school, too, did not in reality evolve an entirely new style, but simply imitated in stone what during past centuries it had been the custom to carve in wood. It goes without

saying that in the damp climate of Java any wood carving that may have existed in the centuries previous to A.D. 1000 must have perished long ago.

In this connection let me quote a very remarkable work of art in which we find those two styles, the Indo-Javanese and the Indonesian, combined in the most surprising fashion. It is the Gaṇeśa image of Bara. The front of this sculpture exhibits the familiar effigy of the god of good luck, not different, indeed, in general appearance, in pose, and attributes from the well-known Indian type, yet showing a very distinct style and an artistic superiority to most of its Indian counterparts. It is an excellent example of the Indo-Javanese style of Eastern Java.

Now, if we proceed to examine the back of the Gaṇeśa, we shall be almost startled in finding ourselves face to face with an elaborately carved monster-head in true Indonesian fashion. Whereas the Gaṇeśa image proper, however rich in its decoration, exhibits a perfect restraint and portrays the quaint shape of the elephant-headed god in almost divine serenity, the back exhibits that capricious and yet artistic fantasy which is characteristic of the Indonesian style. It is true that it is not exactly a figure of the *Wayang* type which we see before us. It is, after all, the same Kāla head which we noticed over the gateways of Borobudur. It is, therefore, in reality a *motif* Indian in its origin, but which after centuries of independent development has at last evolved a type of sculpture wholly Indonesian.

The Javanese mind has a distinct predilection for

FIG. VIII.—GAṆEŚA FROM BARA.

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creating demons and monsters, either in human shape or showing a mixture of human and animal forms. In this genre, allowing full scope to the artist's imagination, the art of Java exceeds all that the Indian homeland has produced. The temples of Java are usually guarded by Rākshasas, stone giants with goggle-eyes, thick moustaches, and tusks. Armed with sword or mace, their obese body encircled with snakes, they are kneeling or standing as frightful guardians of the holy entrance. On the modern Western mind these bulky demons will possibly make a more comic than horrifying impression, but they must have been objects of terror among a population which believed in the real existence of such uncouth creatures.

Another favourite subject of the ancient sculptors of Java is the eagle of Vishṇu, the giant bird Garuḍa. In the early art of India the Garuḍa has the appearance of a bird of prey, but in medieval sculpture we find him often rendered as a male figure characterised by a curved bird's beak. From this Indian prototype the Javanese artists have evolved a magnificent monster, mainly human in shape but with a protruding snout, its wings, feathery tail, and talons still recalling its bird origin.

On the first Rāma relief of Prambanan we noticed such a Garuḍa as Vishṇu's satellite. But a Garuḍa of a much fiercer type is presented by the wonderful Vishṇu image of Bĕlahan, one of the earliest and at the same time one of the best sculptures of Eastern Java. In a most striking manner the artist who fashioned this grand composition has expressed the contrast between the

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savage Garuḍa, with his hog-like head, threatening the Nāgas whom he has seized with his claw-shaped feet, and the supreme deity, the four-armed Vishṇu, enthroned on his lotus-seat in undisturbed repose and serene contemplation. Is it not mind ruling supremely over the lower passions, or, to speak in Indian terms, is it not *Sattva* in its superiority over *Rajas* and *Tamas?* Whatever thoughts may have inspired the Javanese artist to fashion this masterpiece, I know of no Indian effigy of Vishṇu which equals it.*

The Vishṇu image of Bĕlahan, apart from its great artistic merit, possesses a special historical interest. We must here refer to a custom which prevailed in ancient Java and which, as far as we know, was truly indigenous. In India proper, at any rate, there is no evidence of its existence. From the Old-Javanese chronicles we learn that when a king had died and his body had been cremated, it was the custom to raise a temple over his ashes and to enshrine in it a divine image representing a certain god, usually a Buddha or Śiva, but with the deceased king's features. The monarch, divine in origin and essence, had become reabsorbed into the deity from which he sprang.

Of course, the conception of the king as a divine being is by no means exclusively Javanese. It belongs to the Orient in general, and it is well known that, when

* In the first number of *Rūpam* (January, 1920) the image in question is reproduced side by side with a late medieval sculpture from Varendra representing the same subject. Nothing certainly could more clearly bring out the superiority of Javanese plastic art than the juxtaposition of these two sculptures.

FIG. IX.—VISHṆU ON GARUḌA FROM BĔLAHAN.

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Greek civilisation had conquered the Near East and in their turn Eastern ideas pervaded the West, one of them was the divinity of the king. In India, too, the idea prevailed, it being set forth at some length in the well-known Law-book of Manu (VII., 3-11). On the Indian Continent, however, the conception of kings as divine beings does not appear to have led to a custom of showing them in the semblance of gods such as we find in Java. On the whole, portrait statues of kings are extremely rare in Indian art, as the only known instances are the stone images of Kanishka and two other princes of the Kushāṇa Dynasty, which have come to light in the neighbourhood of Mathurā, and are now preserved in the local museum. If we are to credit the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing,* statues of the great Buddhist Emperor Aśoka must have existed in his days in India, but no example as yet has come to light.

Now, to return to the Vishṇu image of Bĕlahan, the evidence afforded by Old-Javanese sources has led Professor Krom to the conclusion that in all probability it is a portrait-statue of Airlanga, the first great king of Eastern Java, shown in his apotheosis as the god Vishṇu mounted on Garuḍa.

As in the Archipelago the cultus of Vishṇu always occupied a secondary place compared with Buddhism or the worship of Śiva, it is more usual to find the deified kings of Eastern Java assume the shape of either Śiva or of one of the Bodhisattvas or Dhyāni-Buddhas

* "A Record of the Buddhist Religion" (transl. Takakusu), p. 73.

of the Mahāyāna. Thus the Chaṇḍi Jago has been identified as the sepulchral temple of Vishṇuvardhana, the most prominent king of Singhasāri, who died in A.D. 1268. Consequently the much mutilated image of the Lokeśvara Amoghapāśa (a form of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), which is found in that temple, must be an effigy of that great king of Eastern Java. In the "Nāgara-krĕtāgama" (41, 4), it is mentioned that he was worshipped here as Buddha and elsewhere—namely, at Waleri—as Śiva.

There is even an instance of a Javanese monarch—it was the foolish Kṛĕtanagara, the last king of Singhasāri, who was murdered in the year 1292—being adored in one and the same temple both as Śiva and Buddha. The frivolous potentate was denoted by the posthumous name of Śiva-Buddha!

Kṛĕtanagara was succeeded by his son-in-law, Vijaya, who after his accession in 1294 assumed the name of Krĕtarājasa. According to Dr. Bosch, we may recognise a portrait-statue of this first king of Majapahit in the beautiful image which originally must have stood in the sepulchral temple of Simping, and which now is considered the finest piece of sculpture in the archæological collection of the Batavia Museum.* The chronicle states that in the sepulchral temple an image of the king was erected in the semblance of Śiva. Now, it must be admitted that on account of its attributes, the mace and the conch (the latter shown as a snail!) one would feel inclined to identify it as a Vishṇu image.

* Havell, "Indian Sculpture and Painting," Plate XXVI.

If, indeed, it is meant for Śiva, it must be admitted that the Javanese artist has allowed himself a great deal of freedom in iconographical matters. To meet the difficulty, archæologists have designated it Hari-Hara—viz., a combination of Vishṇu and Śiva.

However, there can be no two opinions as regards the great artistic merit of this masterpiece of Javanese art. In its attitude, which has preserved an archaic symmetry and rigidity far removed from all conventionalism and stiffness, the image expresses a truly royal dignity. The limbs are decked with a wonderful wealth of ornaments—a high tiara, elaborate ear-pendants, and a multitude of various necklaces and bracelets. The lower part of the body is clad in a richly embroidered *sarong*. On both sides of the divine image there rise lotus-stalks with well-rendered leaves, ending above in a number of flowers and buds which are visible to the right and left of the king's head. This kind of naturalistic lotus ornament, which is typical of East Javanese sculpture, is very effective and adds not a little to the decorative splendour of the statue. In sculptures of the Majapahit period those lotuses usually rise from two flower-vases placed on both sides at the feet of the image, whereas in the earlier art of Singhasāri they are shown springing from bulbs. In the present instance the two flower-pots are concealed, as it were, behind the two female attendants which, considerably smaller in size than the royal image, presumably represent the two chief queens of King Krĕtarājasa.

The Batavia Museum contains a four-armed female

image which shows a marked affinity with the so-called Hari-Hara of Simping. It is of exactly the same size (height 2 m.), and very similar in style and workmanship. There can be little doubt that both statues were carved by the same master. The female image, which exhibits an equally elaborate ornamentation as her male counterpart, has been identified long ago as the goddess Pārvatī. But there is good reason to assume that here, too, we have in reality a royal statue, portraying a queen of King Krĕtarājasa, perhaps the Parameśvarī Tribhuvanā, in her glorified state as the divine spouse of Śiva. In this sculpture the graceful lotuses rising from flower-vases add a singular charm to the stately figure of the Javanese queen.

There is another, earlier example of a statue which is supposed to represent a queen of Eastern Java in deified shape. It is the famous Prajñāpāramitā of the Leiden Museum. This charming statuette (height 1 m. 26) has often been reproduced, and is, indeed, one of the best-known masterpieces of Javanese art. It expresses divine majesty like the Pārvatī image mentioned above, but adds to it heavenly grace. Mr. Havell,* who gives an excellent reproduction of it, describes it as "one of the most spiritual creations of any art, Eastern or Western."

It has been conjectured that the Prajñāpāramitā, while rendering the Buddhist ideal of Supreme Wisdom in her divine shape, is intended at the same time to be the posthumous statue of a Javanese queen. Perhaps the lady who thus has become absorbed in the Buddhist

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 51 *f.* and Plate XIV.

FIG. X.—HARI HARA FROM SIMPING.

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FIG. XI.—PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ FROM SINGHASĀRI.

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goddess of Transcendental Wisdom was Queen Ḍĕḍĕs, the consort of Rājasa, first king of Singhasāri. In the year 1222 this monarch defeated the last ruler of Kĕdiri in the battle of Gantĕr, and thus became the founder of a new dynasty. The sculpture would then belong to the second quarter of the thirteenth century of our era.

The image of Prajñāpāramitā seems an auspicious subject to form a fit conclusion to the present lecture. This admirable sculpture shows how high a standard of excellence Hindu-Javanese art has maintained even during the later period of its history. Within the compass of a single lecture it is impossible to describe the numerous monuments which that art has produced in the course of the seven or eight centuries of its existence. We have had to confine ourselves to a brief survey of some of the most prominent works of architecture and sculpture. I hope that this account, however imperfect, may have served to convey some idea of the high qualities of Javanese art and of its chief characteristics. In the first place, it has been our endeavour to demonstrate that, although this art primarily derived its inspiration from India, and throughout its history was intimately associated with Indian religions, the Javanese architects and sculptors very soon departed from the examples set by their Hindu teachers and freely followed their own national genius. It is, therefore, really a misnomer to refer to the art of Java as "Indian" art, however closely the two may be related in choice of subject and religious inspiration.

In India proper triumphant Islām became destructive

to numberless sanctuaries of the native religions of the country, but in its turn it adorned the great cities of Hindustan with many a priceless mausoleum and mosque. In Java the Muslims, while establishing their religion in a far less violent manner, left the shrines and idols of the ancient creeds undisturbed, but did not initiate a great art, as they had done in India. It is only in the minor arts that the Indonesian craftsman still shows his skill and artistic talent.

The religious monuments of the Hindu-Javanese period subsist as the greatest that the national genius of Java, inspired by Indian ideals, has been able to produce.

J. PH. VOGEL.

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